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FUNCTIONAL FAMILIES OF THE PATWIN

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INTRODUCTION

The Wintun Indians of northern California are a linguistic group formerly occupying most of the western drainage of the Sacramento valley. In native terminology, the name Wintun applies only to the Indians of the northern half of what ethnologists call Wintun territory. The people of the southern half speak of themselves as Patwin. The whole Wintun area in the larger sense has been divided into four major dialectic provinces: the Northern, Central, Southeastern, and Southwestern.¹ This paper is descriptive only of that portion of the Patwin who occupied a narrow strip of territory bordering the west bank of the Sacramento river, from Princeton in Colusa county southward to a point somewhat below the city of Colusa. These Indians belonged to the Central and Southeastern Wintun dialectic provinces.

The material included in this paper was collected during two visits to a Patwin rancheria immediately north of the city of Colusa. These visits were made in 1917 and 1919, under the direction of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California.

PHONETIC SYSTEM

Native names and words used in this discussion are phonetically transcribed according to the following system:

	CONSONANTS									
	Stops				Spirants	Affricatives		Nasals	Trilled	Rolled
	Surd	Sonant	mediate	Fortis		Surd	Fortis			
Bilabial	p	b	B	p'				m		
Dental					s					
Linguo-dental.	t			t'		č	č'	n		r
Linguo-alveolar	t	d		t'						
Lateral					l	L			l	
Linguo-palatal					s					
Mid-palatal.	k			k'						
Back-palatal	q									
Glottal	ʔ				ʔ or h					

¹ S. A. Barrett, *The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians*, present series, vi, 284-289, maps 1 and 2, 1908; and map "Native Tribes, Groups, Dialects, and Families of California in 1770," published by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, in 1917, 1920, and 1922.

b is intermediate between p and b. That is to say, it is voiced during occlusion but snrd during the remainder of its formation.

p', t', and k' are stops accompanied by glottal closure. This glottalization is not vigorously articulated.

t is a lingual stop formed by touching the tip of the tongue to the upper incisors. It is not inter-dental. The resulting sound at first seems intermediate between English t and th.

č represents the sound "tsh," as in English "chair."

č' is the sound č accompanied by a slightly articulated glottal stop.

l is made by arranging the muscles of articulation as if to pronounce English "l," but employing aspiration instead of voice.

ɬ is effected by an abrupt lateral release of breath from a complete tongue-closure of the mouth cavity.

s is produced by lightly touching the tip of the tongue to the palate, at the posterior edge of the alveolar process, and allowing the breath to escape through a small opening left by the tongue tip. The result is a whistled "s."

q is a medium back palatal "k."

r is a briefly trilled French "r."

A slight aspiration is indicated by an inverted apostrophe, '. Full strength aspirations are represented, as in English, by the letter h.

Glottal stops are represented by the apostrophe.

The other consonants shown in the chart are identical to those sounds similarly represented in English.

VOWELS				As in English:
		a		
	ε	ə		father
	e	o		bet, dog
		ə		hey, go
	ɛ		υ	but
i			u	pin, put
				unique, rule

y and w are used when i and u, respectively, are but semi-voiced, as in English "you" and "will."

The most frequently used diphthongs are: ɔi, ai, ui, ei, au, ou, eu.

The analysis of words or complexes is indicated by <.

Translations are indicated by =.

The accented syllable in a multisyllabic term is indicated by the acute accent.

INHERITANCE AND DESCENT

A clear presentation of the subject of hereditary functional groups among these people, requires a discussion of the native attitude toward inheritance and descent. Consanguinity (in theory, at least) was one of the most important factors in the social structure. The following brief descriptions of the family and the office of village chieftain are by way of concretely illustrating this fact.

THE FAMILY

There were three types of groups, each possessing group consciousness, which might (though mistakenly) be termed families. They may be styled (1) the paternal family, (2) the family social group, and (3) the household.

The paternal family. Blood relationship was reckoned paternally. While blood affinity in the female line of descent was known to exist as a fact in nature, tradition was here the governing factor rather than natural law. Traditionally, then, one's maternal relatives were not regarded as kinsfolk in a consanguinary sense. Nor were they entitled to family privileges. This was true to the degree that a man might marry his cross-cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, but it was taboo for him to marry the daughter of his father's brother. The family accordingly consisted of the patriarch or head man, his brothers (he being the elder), his sisters, his sons and daughters, his sons' children, his brothers' sons and daughters, the children of his brothers' sons, and such other paternal descendants as he might have (see fig. 1).

The female members of a family did not lose their traditional family membership at marriage, as illustrated below (pages 241, 250).

The family social group. In spite of this paternal concept of blood relationship, it was customary for a young man, at marriage, to make his home with his wife's people. The duration of this matrilocal residence was uncertain, depending largely upon the young husband's ability to acquire the property and wealth necessary to establish an independent household. Until such independence was attained, he was under the authority of the family head man of his wife's people. The family group, as socially directed by the family head man, was therefore quite a different unit from the paternal family. It included all members of the paternal family, with the following exceptions: the head man's married sisters, and those other female family representatives whose husbands had established independent households; those male family representatives who resided with their wives' people. The latter exclusion was only temporary, and when these men had established their own households, they and their wives and children came to be included in their family social group. In like manner the husbands and wives of these children might, at different times, be included in the group. It might also include the head man's wives, the

Over the family social group the patriarchal head man exercised undisputed family authority, checked only by tribal tradition and tribal authority (see page 244). This patriarchal authority was not dependent upon unilocal residence. As a man's sons, when independently established, lived in separate houses, the houses themselves in all probability were remotely situated in regard to each other. Even where houses were communal, as the permanent winter houses usually were, the several households occupying a given house, each holding a definite part thereof, were quite independent of each other and almost invariably traced their ancestry from different family stocks.

The household. Neither the paternal family nor the family social group practiced unilocal residence. That portion of the family social group, then, living together in one house, constituted a third group, the household. It might include a man, his wife, his unmarried sons, his daughters, his sons-in-law, and his daughters' children. The last three household elements mentioned would be included in the household only during a limited time, preceding the establishment by the sons-in-law of independent households (see fig. 1).

The paternal family, then, constituted a group, held together by virtue of traditional ties of blood. The family social group owed its modicum of social unity to group authority vested in the family head man. The household was a social unit due to common residence under the immediate authority of a household head, who might or might not be the family head man.

No conscious recognition of such a varied grouping of the family has been found among the Patwin, but an accurate use of words makes essential some distinction between groups so different and yet so easily confused in a discussion of the family. The paternal family is the true family from every traditional standpoint. In it alone blood kinship is an essential factor. It will be termed hereafter in this paper the family. Any reference to the other groups will be made in specific terms. The native word for the family is *se'rc*.

INHERITANCE

When property rights are taken into consideration it is readily seen that the family was conscious of ties not reflected at all by the life in households. Property subject to inheritance was of two kinds: (1) personal possessions, (2) family possessions.

Not all personal property was inheritable. The practice of burying with the dead, or burning after the burial, the larger part of the

deceased's personal effects was universal. Only those elements of personal property that were publicly ceded previous to death became the heritage of the deceased's paternal descendants. Such things as, for example, a ceremonial costume, a feather belt, a ceremonial pipe, a quantity of shell beads, a charm stone, or a secret "medicine" formula, might thus be given away. The original owner was said to have "given" the property to the descendant, yet the "gift" never changed hands previous to the donor's death. The recipient was almost invariably the next in paternal line of descent. A woman's property might, for example, if so directed by her, pass on to her brother's daughter; a man's property to his son.

Occasionally a man might discountenance any claim of his paternal relatives and leave some of his belongings to an outsider. Such a course of action, however, was generally frowned upon and publicly discouraged. It was not the "right thing to do."

There were many classes of property that never belonged to the individual. In most cases, when not commonly owned by the village, these classes of property belonged to the family. For example, that definite portion of the dwelling house in which the household lived, and the store of necessary household utensils such as food baskets, mats, mortars and pestles, cooking and eating utensils, and the household granary, were the common property of the family, held and used by the household during its existence. With the death of the head man of the household, these possessions reverted to the custody of the next in line of descent whose household might have need of them. The family head man under whose authority that particular household came, decided who was entitled to replace the deceased custodian. He could not elect him at will, but it was his duty to point out the proper successor. Such effects were not the property of the head man of the household. He merely exercised over them the function of custodian. The privilege of using such effects was inherited by the household as a group. Ownership thereof was claimed by the family of which the household was a part. This class of property was buried, burned, or otherwise destroyed upon the death of the last male representative of the owning family, but not otherwise.

Individual names were looked upon as the property not of the individual but of the family. Each family possessed a stock of names. The individual acquired the name of that deceased paternal relative, of like sex, who was of closest relationship. A man's name was that of his nearest deceased male paternal relative; a woman's that of her

nearest deceased female paternal relative. This name was the bearer's as long as he or she lived. The individual could not, however, sell or in any other way dispose of the name.

So rigidly was this method of naming observed that a child's name was predetermined before its birth. It depended upon the time of the death's occurring before the child's birth. One versed in such affairs upon hearing a man's name might readily know to what family, in a given tribe, he belonged.

At the death of the individual, his name was returned to the family supply of unclaimed names, to be appropriated to the use of his nearest paternal male relative in the unborn generation.

Certain "medicines," or rituals, peculiarly inductive to supernatural aid in some particular functional capacity, were also considered as family property. This class of property will be considered in detail below, in connection with functional families (see page 246).

THE VILLAGE CHIEF

The high importance of paternal descent in the social organization is again illustrated in the office of the village chief, called *se'ktu*, the head of the village. Since each village was politically independent of every other village, the village chief held the highest rank recognized by the Patwin. In time of war, two or more villages might unite in action against a common enemy, but each contingent of warriors acted as an independent unit, under the command of its own war-leader.

Succession. The position of chief was hereditary and ordinarily passed from father to son. When the deceased chief had no son, or when the son was judged by general consensus of opinion to be incompetent for the position, the new chief was chosen by the village elders according to his qualifications.

A qualification greatly to be desired in the new village head man was that of blood relationship to the dead chief. Other qualifications, of smaller import, were ability and popularity. As blood relationship became more distant, ability and popularity gained in importance as deciding factors. For instance, an unable or unpopular grandnephew of the former chief might lose the election to one with a still more distant blood claim to the office but possessing the confidence and esteem of the village. A son of the deceased official, however, if at all competent, in spite of being unpopular in the community, had just claim to the position.

All other qualifications being equal, blood relationship was the deciding factor. There was a definite order of rating of relationship. Each individual claiming consanguinity to the chief was definitely recognized as being more closely allied to him than certain claimants, and more distantly related than others. This blood rank ran, in a descending scale, as follows:

1. Elder son.
2. Younger son.
3. Elder brother.
4. Younger brother.
5. Elder brother's sons (in order of age).
6. Younger brother's sons (in order of age).
7. Father's elder brother.
8. Father's younger brother.
9. Elder son's sons (in order of age).
10. Younger son's sons (in order of age).
11. Father's elder brother's sons (in order of age).
12. Father's younger brother's sons (in order of age).
13. Brother's son's sons (in order of age).
14. Father's brothers' sons' sons (in order of age).²

Ability and popularity became dominant factors in the choosing of a new chief when the following peculiar situations existed: (1) when there were two ranking candidates of equal paternal blood affinity to the deceased chief; (2) when the deceased chief was the last representative of his line; (3) when a new village unit was organized (see below). The first of these situations was made possible through the practice of polygamy. It was quite possible for two mothers to have children, by the same father, at practically the same time. As a careful reckoning of dates was never kept, there might very logically arise later the question as to which was the older. Carried into the second or third generation, the answer to this question would tend to become more and more obscure.

Political power and authority. The chief enjoyed a large ascendancy. He exercised the powers of a dictator. He could not be deposed, although at any time he might resign in favor of his son. Those who disobeyed him could not continue to live in the village. When the disloyal element consisted of a group instead of an individual, the group left the village. If of sufficient strength, such a group might establish

² It may seem unbelievable that such a definite system of rank could have existed among these people. To my knowledge nothing of this nature has been reported among neighboring stocks. My informant was Tom Odlock, chief of the rancheria where this information was obtained. My impression of him, corroborated by the opinion of others who have worked with him, is that of an exceptionally truthful and careful informant.

itself as an independent community. Even then the chief selected to head the new village was, when possible, a paternal relative of the former chief.

Although subject to the advice of a council of elders, chosen by himself from among the oldest and most respected of the family head men, the chief had the final word at all councils. The political function of the council was that of bringing to the attention of the chief matters of common tribal importance, discussing with him the problems involved, but leaving him free to act as he saw fit, unhampered by any authority vested in the council. Thus some member of this council might think it advisable to move the village site. He would confer with other members of the council and with other prominent village personages, such as the head man of the esoteric society. Then if the concensus of opinion seemed favorable toward his project he would speak to the chief concerning it. If the chief considered the matter of sufficient weight, he would call together the council. Meeting at the chief's house they would build a great fire on the hearth-place, close the door and smoke-hole with skins or mats, and "sweat." While sweating, the question would be brought up and discussed lengthily. In such discussions the chief usually took very little part. Nor did he, as a rule, announce his decision at the conclusion of the meeting. When the chief declared the council at an end, the members would run out of the house and plunge into the river. After a swim, they would return to their respective homes. This council meeting was called *ča'puroyə'piri'tu* (=they who meet together while sweating: <*ča'po*, to take a "sweat bath;" *yə'piri*, to assemble).

Control of tribal economy. The most commonly exercised powers of the chief were of an economic character. He was the commissioner of wild crops, acquainted with the local centers of supply, and versed in the proper times for harvesting. Nut, fruit, and seed producing localities belonging to the village were conveniently divided into sub-areas by the chief. These he assigned, during harvest time, to various families. That is to say, each family had its own "picking grounds," reassigned each season in accordance with the relative sizes of the various families involved.

All meat products, when of sufficient quantity, whether fish, flesh, or fowl, were brought to the chief to be distributed by him among the households most in need thereof. This did not hold true in regard to insignificant amounts. A hunter returning with only two or three squirrels would keep them, to be used by his own household. But if a

deer were brought in, or small game in quantity, it was invariably apportioned to family head men, who in turn apportioned it to the family households.

The division of food-producing areas and meat products among the families by the chief could not, ultimately, result in unfair partiality toward certain families, for a family not sufficiently supplied in this manner could demand food from their more fortunate neighbors. Sloth, which might logically result from such a custom, was checked by the chief's authority (1) to order any given family to gather the product of its allotted area, (2) to organize general village hunting expeditions.

At the beginning of the fish spawning season, the chief proclaimed a certain day as one to be devoted by the entire community to fishing. Everyone was obliged to fish on that day, nor could any one begin fishing before the appointed time.

The chief personally organized and directed communal drives of rabbit or deer, the gathering of wood to be used for fuel at dances, and other activities in which the community participated as a whole. When disease, floods, bad luck, or other local disadvantages made it seem advisable to move the village to a new site, the chief directed the moving operations and selected the new location (see above, page 244).

Authority over ceremonies. The most important and sacred of all the ceremonies was the hesi (*he'si*) dance. None but adult men (past the age of puberty) were allowed to see this dance, and all who took part therein were members of an esoteric society, also called hesi. Membership included every man of any social importance in the village and involved an initiation of which very little is known. Hesi officials were very influential men. This was the only dance at which spectators were charged an admission fee, consisting of a short string of clam shell beads. A further description of the hesi dance is not necessary in this paper. The chief was a special hesi official and as such exercised ceremonial authority. No hesi dance was held without his sanction. At the ceremony of initiating a novice into the society, the chief bestowed a hesi name upon him and was paid for so doing by the father or other family representative of the applicant. A lion's share of the admission fees went to the chief. All other hesi officials acted under his authority.

Before the holding of any dance, hesi or other, a sweat-council (see above, page 244) was held in the chief's house, at his invitation. At this council he proclaimed the necessity for holding a dance. There

it was decided what ceremony should be held, what days should open and close the procedure, and what guests should be invited. The chief personally welcomed the guests with an address and the presentation of gifts. It was customary for him to make speeches between sets of dances. His house on any ceremonial occasion was used as a place in which to gamble. At his death, the chief was buried in the dance house (*tut*), which was then burned.

Social prestige. The chief enjoyed distinct social prestige. His house, located at the approximate center of the village, was the council house where all tribal activities were planned (see above, page 244). The chief, his wives, and his sons and daughters, were freed from the necessity of hunting, fishing, or gathering of other supplies. They were freely supplied with the necessities of life by the other village members. For instance, if the chief needed firewood, he would call some of the young men to him and order them to get it for him. Or, when the time for harvesting a certain variety of grass seed was come, the chief's daughter, if of age, would call to her a number of the younger women and tell them she needed so many baskets of timothy grass seed, wild oats, or whatever the cereal might be.

A daughter or sister of a chief, called *ma'in*, enjoyed special social distinction. Children did not laugh in her presence and adults treated her with respect. This was not true, to any marked degree, of a chief's wife.

The chief wore holiday attire every day, his only badge of office.

Summary. The chief, unlike the chiefs in many neighboring linguistic stocks, or even in neighboring sections of the Wintun stock, owed his chieftainship, regularly, to paternal descent and enjoyed an inordinate eminence in regard to political, economic, ceremonial, and social prestige and authority.

FUNCTIONAL FAMILIES

The important place that paternal descent holds in the social structure of the Patwin being clear, the remainder of this paper will take up the consideration of functional families among this group. The data at hand, while far from complete, definitely disclose certain social and economic institutions not prevalent among other native California stocks. Associated with a patrilineal mode of reckoning kinship, there existed a variety of institutions concerned respectively with some

social or economic function. Not every family was functional in this manner, but those that were not had a lower social prestige.

Each functional family was the possessor of an esoteric ritual or medicine. This medicine was family property and was the inheritance of each new generation. Individual members had no exclusive claim thereto. Besides this medicine, each individual member of such a family, if an active member (see below, page 253), owned a charm. Such charms descended, like other personal effects, in the male line. Charm and medicine were valuable to the possessor as the means toward inducing supernormal aid in performing the family function.

CLASSIFICATION OF FUNCTIONAL FAMILIES

For purposes of ease in presentation and comparison, functional families may be divided into four classes: (1) ceremonial families, (2) trade families, (3) shamanistic families, (4) official families. This division is based upon the different types of functions involved.

Ceremonial families. A ceremonial family possessed certain secret medicines and individual charms that specially qualified its members to take part in a specific ceremony. The ceremony and the family were known by the same name. For example, one of these families was called *si'ka*. Each of its members, through a proper use of his charm and the family medicine, was supernormally qualified to dance in a great public ceremony called *si'ka*. This dance was held once each year in the regular ceremonial house and was witnessed by every one, but no one not belonging to the *si'ka* family could participate therein. No admission charge was made nor did the family materially benefit from the ceremony in any other way. The family was actively represented in the performing of its function by men only.

Of like order were the *k'a'ima*, *kv'ču*, *lo'lu'* and *to'to*, each monopolizing a particular ceremony. An active member of any ceremonial family was called *ta'otu*.

In every case it was not the technique of the ceremonial activity that constituted the family secret, but rather the medicine. Any one might be able to imitate the dance steps after careful observation, but no one would dare to do so without making the required medicine preparations.

Trade families. Members of a trade family were specially fitted, through the possession and use of inherited charms and medicines, to engage successfully in some particular economic enterprise. For

example, a man belonging to a *lape'ta* family was rendered adept at fishing for all kinds of small or medium sized fish by the use of his charm and family medicine. Individuals did not use this occupational advantage in independent endeavor. The family acted as a unit, fishing with a large "slough net," made of native hemp (*Apocynum*) string and called *la'pi*. The net was squarely oblong, resembling the ordinary European seine. It was suspended across a slough by means of a twisted rope of the same fibre as the net called *t'dt*. This rope, tied to trees on opposite banks of the slough, hung very low over the water, allowing most of the net to be submerged. The bottom of the net was weighted down with mud pellets, wrapped in tule. These sinkers, called *pu'le*, were about the size of a baseball. The fish were driven down stream into the net. One end was then detached and pulled by ropes up stream and across to the opposite shore, thus trapping the fish and bringing them to land.

The fish were not sold or exchanged but distributed among the families in the usual way by the chief. Only men represented the family in this enterprise.

All trade families and even the trades participated in by them have long since disappeared. Many of them, according to my informants, have been entirely forgotten. Others are remembered as having existed but names and words associated with them are forgotten. The following incomplete list is therefore all that can be offered by way of specific examples.

The *lape'ta* family, just mentioned.

The *cape'ntu* family engaged jointly in salmon (*hur*) fishing. The method employed in fishing by such a family was in no way different from that of any outsider who might fish for salmon. The only advantage held by the family consisted in its medicine practice. Salmon were fished with the aid of a dam or weir built across the river at some shallow part. This dam, called *ban'te'p*, was jointly constructed by all the men of the village. It had for its foundation a line of piles driven into the river bottom from shore to shore. Willow brush was woven in and out between these piles, in a wicker-work technique, until the structure constituted an insurmountable barrier to the salmon. It was perforated every few yards by a "break" or narrow gateway. When completed, the top of the dam was of sufficient width to allow one, if careful, to walk across. Salmon were caught by means of large basket traps, conical in shape, and made of twined willow rods. These were placed at the gateways and the fisher watched from his position

on the dam. When a salmon swam into the trap, trap and fish were removed. The warm sluggish waters of the Sacramento river in this locality prevent the salmon from leaping over the dam. The number of traps that could be used at any one time was regulated by the chief. There were always some gateways left open.

The *kapi'tu* family, working individually, was engaged in the making of arrow points. These arrow points were manufactured from imported obsidian (*do'ko*), the river valley producing no suitable material for these objects. Larger stone implements, such as knives, were not made by the valley Patwin. Such as they had were obtained through exchange from neighboring hill groups.

There was a goose-hunting family, the name of which has been forgotten. This family had the function of trapping geese, using a trap called *be'tcho*. This trap consisted of large rectangular pole frames upon which was stretched netting, similar to the fish netting described above. The frames were connected at the corners with ropes of native "hemp." These ropes extended on into an ambuscade where several trappers lay concealed. The netted frames were placed side by side flat upon the ground and baited with shelled acorns, broken into small pieces. When the geese came to feed upon the acorns the nets were turned over upon them by means of the attached ropes.

The *čako'tu* family engaged in duck trapping. The trap used consisted of a great net, similar in shape and size to the slough net described above, stretched low across a slough so that the bottom edge barely cleared the water. Into this the frightened ducks were induced to fly. They were then secured by releasing the upper fastenings of the net and allowing it to fall over them.

There was a family whose function consisted in making ceremonial drums. These drums, called *čobo'k*, were hollowed-out sycamore logs from six to eight feet in length. They were placed upside down in the dance house and beaten by the drummer with his feet.

Another family had the function of making salt (*čoki'*). The salt was obtained from a salt grass (*wel*) found growing in dry alkaline regions. A pit was dug and the dried plant, mixed with salmon vertebrae, was piled above it. Fire was applied, and as the mixture burned, the natural tar from the plant and the salt with which it was crusted accumulated in the pit. The result was a hard gray-black material, soluble in hot water and very salty to the taste. It was used sparingly for seasoning food.

The *tara't* making family individually engaged in making ceremonial headdresses called *tara't*, and feather belts called *diya'k*. The *tara't* was a diamond-shaped texture worn high on the forehead by certain distinguished men in the hesi dance. It was fashioned of fine native hemp cord and small red feathers from the scalp of the red-headed woodpecker. The feathers were treated individually and tied into the basic structure of cord so as to present a smooth superior surface of fine red feathers. The whole was fringed with the black tips of the woodpecker's tail feathers. The *diya'k* was a belt about a yard long and from four to eight inches wide. It was never worn by any but a hesi dancer and by only the most distinguished of them. It was made in the same technical manner as the *tara't* but included the weaving of fine feathers of various colors into a color design. The fine feathers used for this purpose, called *pit*, were obtained from the red scalp of the woodpecker, the green neck of the mallard duck, the yellow breast of the robin, the blackbird's breast, and the orange-spotted back of the oriole.

There was a family that was individually engaged in making a variety of large coiled baskets, externally decorated with a superimposed design done in small colored feathers, the *pit* described above. This basket, called *tara'tok*, was exclusively used as a ceremonial object to be buried with the illustrious dead.

There was also a "canoe-basket" making family, individually the manufacturers of large coiled baskets oval in shape used for the same purpose as the *tara't ok*.

All of the above trade families were functionally represented by men only with the exception of the *tara'tok* and the "canoe basket" families, which were functionally represented by women only although the men shared the family names (which have not been determined) and traditional standing. Here as elsewhere the family functional traditions and secret medicines descended in the male line. In other words, a woman did not impart her technical methods and medicine secrets to her daughter but to her brother's daughter.

Shamanistic families. Shamans, excluding ceremonial shamans (*ya'it'u*) who did not exercise shamanistic powers except on ceremonial occasions, were called *malio'mta*. Shamanism was always the function of a shamanistic family. A man, through paternal descent, inherited certain charms and family secrets connected with the practice of shamanism. This alone however did not make of him a shaman. He must first serve a long apprenticeship under a paternal instructor,

himself a shaman, who used his supernatural powers to influence the spirits to commune with the novice and become subject to the latter's incantations.

There might be several shamanistic families in a given village, each absolutely independent of the others and possessing its own peculiar ritualistic secrets and medicines. All shamans treated all diseases and practiced "poisoning," but each shamanistic family had its own methods and secret medicines for the treatment of any given disease. All shamans were men.

Each shamanistic family held secret meetings. On these occasions its members participated in competitive exhibitions of shamanistic control of the supernatural. Two shamanistic families, however, never met together for any purpose.

Official families. Official families were peculiar in that only one representative of a family might at any time exercise the family function. Other non-active members, however, shared the family name and social prestige. For instance, a man might say he belonged to a ceremonial song leader (*qo'ltu*) family when as a matter of fact his father's brother was the only ceremonial song leader in the family. The official families are included in this classification because associated with them are found the two fundamental elements that characterize the functional families, namely, paternal descent and inheritance of functional aids in the form of charms and secret medicines. The official by use of these coerced a supernatural power into lending him aid and protection in the exercise of his official duties. The actual functional representatives of all official families were men.

For example, the hesi dance fire tender, called *čapa'tu*, acquired his office through paternal descent. Through inheritance he was the possessor of a charm and a secret medicine formula, proper use of which insured him success in the performing of his fire-tending duties. Other members of his family, though having no part in the family function, were often called *čapa'tu*, and enjoyed therefrom a certain social distinction.

Of like order were the *si'ka* dance drummer called *ho'lwa'tu*; the ceremonial shaman called *ya'i'tu*, whose duty it was to supernaturally protect the life and health of ceremonial dancers; the ceremonial song leader, *qo'ltu*, whose duty it was to lead the singing at a dance.

In any given village there might be several *qo'ltu*, but each of them represented a different family. In that case each singer family had its own medicines unknown to other singer families as they were

unknown to the public at large. A *qo'tu* might sing the songs for any dance or ceremony including those belonging to ceremonial families. As he grew older his stock of songs became more fully representative of all the ceremonies.

Official families had no names aside from the functional name of the individual representative.

The tribal chief was not the representative of a functional official family as defined in this discussion. Though owing his position to paternal descent, he inherited no family charm or medicines, at least not as chief.

DISCUSSION

Types of names. Each functional family had a name, though often the family and its individual members were designated by the same name. The names fall into at least two categories, descriptive and non-translatable. The following is a table of functional family names according to type.

1. Descriptive names.

- čape'ntu*, salmon fishing family ("who drive fish into a trap").
- lape'ta*, common fishing family ("fishing with a slough-net").
- kapi'tu*, arrow point making family ("one who makes sharp points").
- ta'otu*, an active member of a ceremonial family ("one who dances").
- čapa'tu*, hesi dance fire tender ("one who sweats").
- ya'itu*, ceremonial shaman ("one who starts it").

2. Non-translatable names.

The following are ceremonial families and their respective ceremonies:
lo'lu, *k'a ima*, *si'ka*, *kv'č'u*, *to'to*.

3. Names of undetermined type.

- ho'twa'tu*, *si'ka* dance drummer.
- qo'tu*, ceremonial song leader. (The agentive suffix *-tu* suggests that both the above names belong to the descriptive type.)
- malio'mta*, shaman. (The participial suffix *-ta* makes it probable that the above name is translatable.)

Family adoption. The claim to blood relationship between members of a functional family was often theoretical. Where the family was connected with no functional tradition it included those of actual blood descent only. The functional family, however, often included additional "kinsmen" whose relationship was assumed, not actual. This assumption resulted from the practice of family adoption.

If a shaman, for instance, had no near paternal relative upon whom to bequeath the charms and secrets of his practice, or if the proper paternal descendant lacked ability or interest, a youth with no consanguinary claim to the privilege but credited with mental capabilities and a receptive attitude might be selected by the shaman to be his successor. For this privilege the youth would pay the adopting shaman a standardized sum. He would be given a name from the supply pertaining to the shaman's family, and would then serve an apprenticeship under his benefactor's instruction. Thenceforth he would be considered a regular member of that particular shamanistic family, not only as the possessor of the family charms and medicines, but as the undisputed blood descendant of his predecessor and instructor.

A ceremonial family invariably adopted the ceremonial shaman, *ya'í'tu*, who instructed the dancers and exerted his shamanistic powers to insure their health and supernatural protection from evil forces during a ceremony. The young shaman, serving his apprenticeship, learned the secrets of his hereditary family and how to control his familiar spirit. No opportunity to practice this special power afforded itself, however, until he was adopted into some ceremonial family. Then he became familiar with new family secrets and medicines. With the combined aid of his shamanistic charms and medicines and his ceremonial medicines, he coerced his familiar spirit to lend the dancers under his charge skill and protection, or, if they became sick during a ceremony, to bring about their recovery. Thus he became popularly recognized as affiliated through blood descent not only with his own family but also with the family of his adoption.

Sometimes a ceremonial shaman of high repute was adopted by several ceremonial families. He was considered as one affiliated by ties of consanguinity to all the families concerned.

Wherever this fiction of common descent existed it was universally accepted by the public. No distinction was recognized between hereditary members and adopted members of a functional family. The preposterousness of such an assumption was overruled in the popular conception by weight of tradition. Thus the element of adoption in no way weakened the importance of paternal descent as a basic element in such institutions. Descent might be true or might be fictitious but it was always essential.

Non-active members of the functional family. A member of a functional family did not always observe its functional tradition. This of course was always true of the opposite sex where one sex

dominated the function. It was also true in some cases within the active sex, particularly among the official and shamanistic families. It was true to a less degree of members of ceremonial and trade families. The son of a ceremonial song leader, for example, might refuse to practice the traditional function of his family. This was often due to such factors as lack of talent, lack of interest, family disputes, and even bashfulness. Such an individual would continue to hold his family name and to share the family prestige. He would know the family's functional secrets but he would waive the right to possess through inheritance a functional charm. He remained a family member in every sense except that which involved the traditional occupation.

Charms and medicines. In every functional family the active member personally possessed a material charm. Sometimes this charm took the form of a peculiarly shaped object of stone or wood. Sometimes, as in the case of a shaman's charm, it was actually though not admittedly shaped by human hands. A member of a salmon fishing family (*čapěntu*) usually possessed as a charm a stone mortar (the product of a culture preceding or ancestral to that of the historic valley Patwin who used wooden mortars exclusively). This mortar was believed to be the drum of a river spirit called *k'wtə'*. The mortar itself was called *k'wtə'nočəbok* ($<k'wtə'no$ =possessive form of *k'wtə'*; *čəbo'k*=drum). Before starting out to fish for salmon the owner of this charm rubbed his hands over the stone while repeatedly asking the *k'wtə'* to give him good fishing luck. When not so used this charm was kept in concealment. Some charms, on the other hand, were worn suspended about the neck upon functional occasions.

A shaman's charm, called *kam'ər* (=thunder), was a small object of polished stone usually roundedly oblong in shape with a small hole drilled through one end by means of which it was strung and worn suspended about the owner's neck. Such a stone was said to be a thunderbolt and was usually found, according to the owner, buried in the ground at the foot of a tree that had been struck by lightning. It was said to possess locomotive power and would always return to its rightful owner if stolen or lost.

While charms appertaining to a family function were always the property of individual family members, family medicines were invariably the common property of all active family members. A family member therefore personally inherited a charm but shared in a common group inheritance of family ritualistic secrets.

Monopoly of family functions. The ceremonial, shamanistic, and official families monopolized their respective family functions in that they governed activities that were not participated in by outsiders. For example, no one acted as fire tender at a hesi dance except the active representative of the čapa'tu family. Of the trade families, only those specializing in fishing and the trapping of ducks and geese were not monopolistic. Any one might engage in all kinds of fishing or go duck or goose hunting, using the same technical methods employed by the fishing and trapping families if he so desired, regardless of lineage. But an active member of a functional family was specially qualified to succeed in such pursuits because of his ability to summon supernormal aid. No one, however, could make a burial basket or any other manufactured product of a trade family unless a member of the required functional family.

Family functions and professionalism. The functional family can not be regarded as a professional group since the activity in which it specialized did not assume the place of a sole or even chief occupation. Only at times was the individual member engaged in the traditional family activity. Commonly he was engaged in all the general pursuits of life customarily followed by the other village inhabitants. Even the shamans spent but a relatively small part of their time in shamanistic practice in comparison with the day-to-day routine of general work directed toward supplying the necessities of life.

Group consciousness. Group consciousness existed in every functional group. The official families had no elaborate methods of showing their group consciousness. There could be no clearly defined surface indications of gregariousness in this case due to the fact that official families were represented in their functions by one man only. Official gatherings or esoteric ceremonies were thus made impossible. However, the fact that one not an official might claim membership in a certain official family and share that family's social prestige, clearly shows the official families to have been self-conscious.

Ceremonial, trade, and shamanistic families were clearly group conscious. All ceremonial and shamanistic families held esoteric ceremonies, although the information obtained regarding these ceremonies as yet consists chiefly of a mere affirmative statement.

That trade families were group conscious is evidenced by group action in some instances, as exemplified by a salmon fishing family exercising its family occupation as a unit, and in all cases by a tradi-

tional social status adhering to all members of a given trade family whether or not such members were actively controlled by the family tradition. This social status of functional families seems not to have resulted in a pronounced comparative valuation between such families but rather distinguished a member of any functional group from an individual not so affiliated.

Erogamy. Functional families were exogamous only in the sense that any kinship group was exogamous. Blood relatives, recognized as such, were forbidden by custom to intermarry. There were however no *specific* rules of exogamy differentiating the functional family from a family with no occupational traditions.

Independent officials. As has been noted in the case of the chief, not all official characters were affiliated with official families. Other officials not so affiliated were the war leader (*hi'noma'tu*), acquiring his office through heroic conduct in battle; the hesi dance general manager (*čič'ma'tu*), who obtained his position through a merit system of selection; the head man and chief ceremonial figure (*mo'ki*) of the hesi society and ceremony, also chosen because of personal merit.

The numerical problem. The large number of families listed above and the high probability that there were others not recorded here, seems to imply the former existence of large village populations. General John Bidwell, one of the first white men to pass through the area described in this paper, is credited with the statement that in 1844 there were ten thousand Indians in the near vicinity of the present site of Colusa city. This figure sounds impossibly large in the light of other information at hand. William B. Hyde, one of the first white settlers in Colusa county, says that the average Indian village consisted of from one hundred to four hundred men in addition to their women and children. Will S. Green, another pioneer of Colusa county, places the combined populations of seven "Colusa Indian" villages in 1850 at one thousand individuals. He adds, however, that previous to 1850 diseases introduced by the whites greatly reduced the native population. A careful consideration of all the available information seems to foster the conclusion that a village of one thousand inhabitants was an abnormally large one. A conservative estimate would probably cut this figure in half and fix the average village population at a still lower figure.

The question then arises: How can so many families be adequately represented in the average sized village? The problem can not be

fairly considered without more complete information. It is desirable to know whether the above list of functional families comprises a nearly complete or a highly imperfect percentage of the number originally existent. If the list as it stands includes a majority of the original functional families, the problem is not so difficult as it might at first seem.

A family might consist of a large number of individuals. Again it might consist of only one individual, the last of the family line of descent. A happy medium between these two extremes probably comes closer to the family as it existed. Very few functional families required a large membership. Official families required only one member. The number of individuals in a ceremonial family might be very limited. For instance, but two members of a to'to family participated in the to'to ceremony. In many cases one member of a trade family could perform the family function.

Moreover most functional families existed singly in any given village. That is, a specific function, such as a family ceremony, was represented in a village by only one family. The only two known exceptions to this rule were the ceremonial song leader (*qo'ttu*) families and the shamanistic (*mali'o'mta*) families. The number of each of these families in a village would logically depend upon the size of the village.

The practice of family adoption is important in this connection. If this practice was as common as the material at hand seems to indicate one man would often represent two or more functional families. This would naturally tend to reduce the number of individuals required to fairly represent, within a village, a full list of these families.

It should also be noted that the information upon which this paper is based does not apply to one particular village but to a cultural area represented by many villages. It is therefore not necessary to assume that every functional family was represented in every village group.

CONCLUSIONS

Shamanism. The unanimous use of charms and medicines by members of functional families, involving what might be interpreted as a control and use of supernatural agencies, might suggest shamanism. An essential factor in true shamanism, however, is a personally acquired power of spirit control by the individual. This personal element was not an essential factor underlying the functional family.

The ceremonial shamans and the regular shamans represented the only families whose members had direct communication of any kind with the spirit world. Such power as members of other families possessed was never personally acquired but obtained by means of inherited charms and medicines. Therefore the essential traits of the family are not symptomatic of shamanism.

Clans. Any grouping of individuals claiming common blood descent is apt to suggest a totemic or clan system of social organization. There is, however, no trace among these people of totemism. Names, mythology, and cultural detail point in quite another direction. As regards non-totemic clans, the absence of patrilocal residence of the group and of any specific rule of exogamy contributes to the negative of the question. The evidence will not support an assumption of clan organization.

Types of functions. There is no coherence in the type of activity concerned. Official, ceremonial, shamanistic, economic, and artistic pursuits were all represented.

Summary. There are two elements that stand out predominantly in the functional families. One element is the high importance ascribed to paternal descent, whether real or fictitious. Adoption resulted in actual kinship from the native standpoint. The other element is the general recognition of the superimportance of supernatural assistance over technical training in all manner of social and economic pursuits.

The combination of these two elements results in the functional family. The cause for such a combination might very logically be due to the recognition of individual charms and ritualistic secrets, possessing a potency of value in some desirable activity, as personal property inheritable in the paternal line of descent. Such a property recognition would of necessity create a functional family if none had previously existed.

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